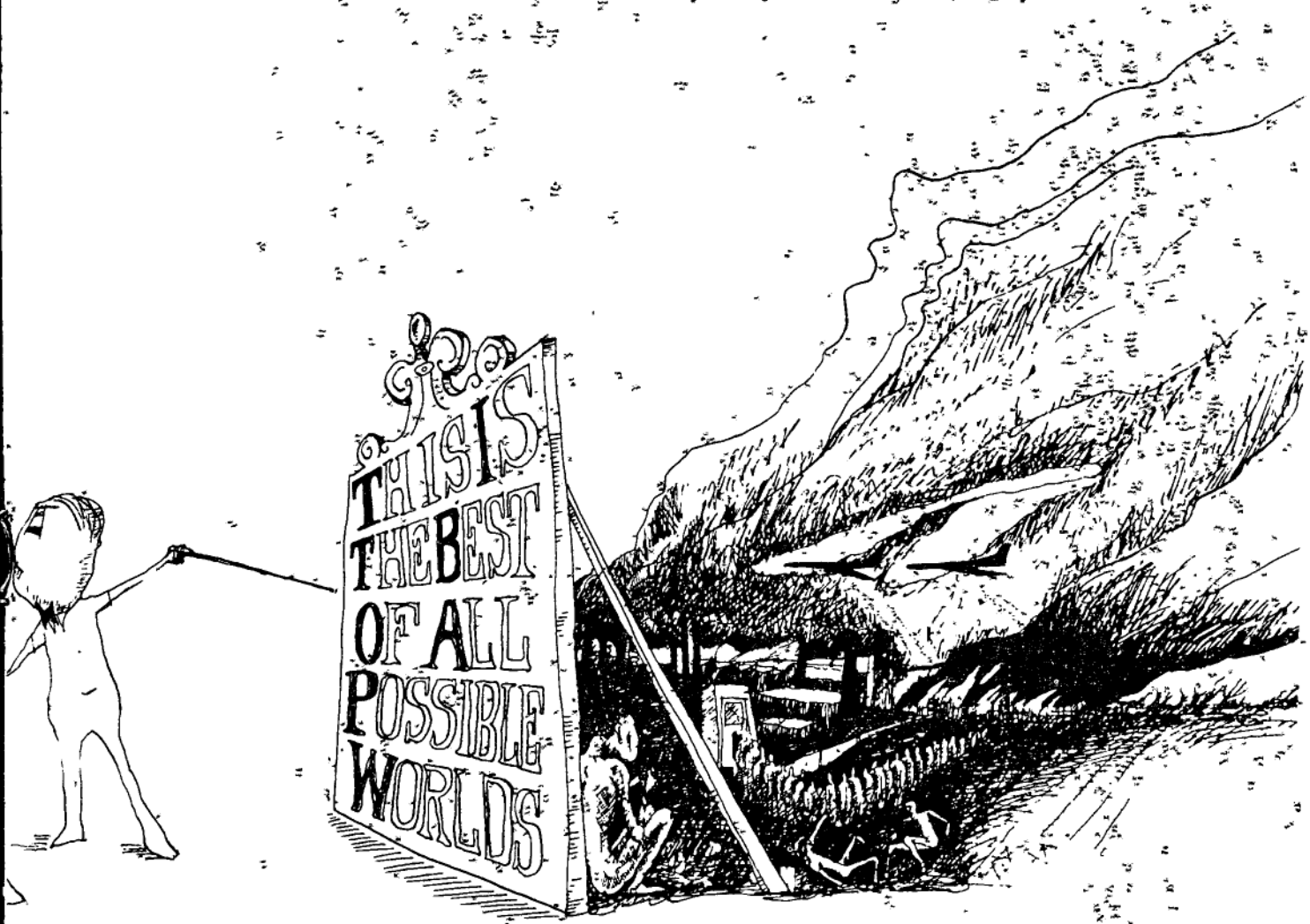
Introducing Harvard



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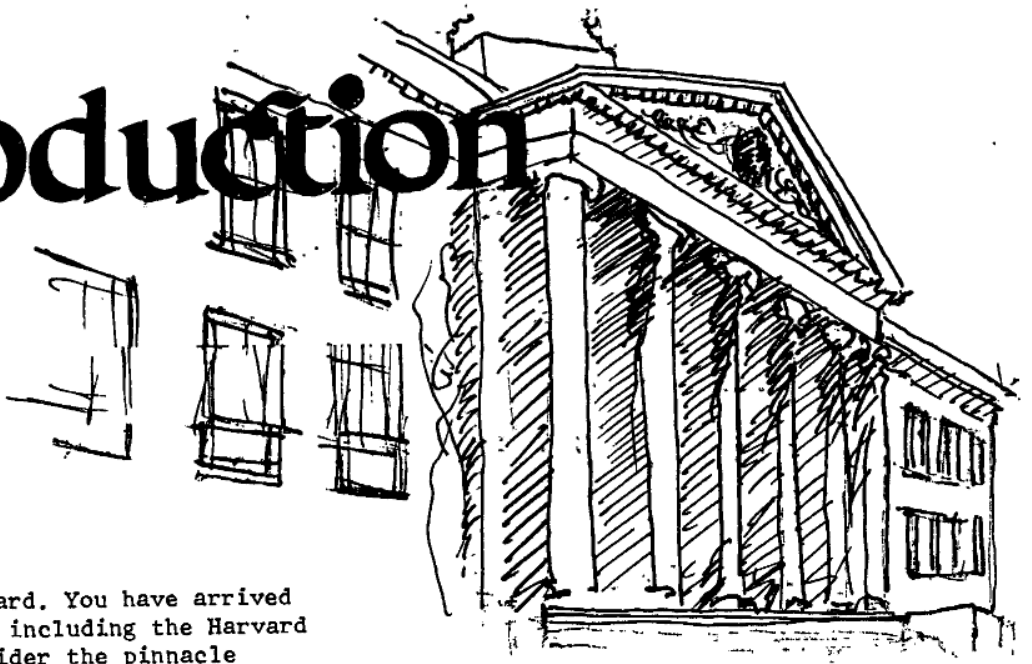
This was put together by a collective of people from the Cambridge Movement and the New American Movement and friends. Special thanks to Arthur Fink of New England Action Research, American Friends Service Committee; Coby Everdell; Michael Prokosch; Susan Sachen; Lynn Anderson.

Introduction



Welcome to Harvard. You have arrived at what many people, including the Harvard administration, consider the pinnacle of American higher education. You are going to school amidst countless famous professors in famous ivy-covered Harvard Yard. Your family, your friends, and the people who officially welcome you to Harvard have undoubtedly impressed upon you that you are embarking on a Great Educational Experience.

It's boring. Within a month or two it will all be depressingly familiar. The famous professors rarely deign to teach; most of them don't know how to teach when they try. (Professors become famous for impressing their colleagues with their research, which is a very different skill from being a good teacher.) Classes in ivy-covered buildings can be just as dull as they were in high school. The glamor of the Great Educational Experience peels off long before the first mid-term exams.

Harvard is a cold and lonely place to be. No one really seems to care that you're bored here. Harvard as an institution is more concerned with prestige than with education, and prestige means collecting famous names for the faculty, building impressive new buildings and increasing constantly the endowment (currently well over one billion dollars and growing).

The boredom and loneliness of life at Harvard forces students into a variety of personal solutions. Some try to excel in the academic world on its own terms. This means a scramble to be recognized by the famous professors; competitive, aggresive intellectual behavior; "scoring points" in classroom discussions which quickly turn into debates. The people who win at this game will go on to do it for five more years in graduate school, and become tomorrow's famous professors. Most students drop out of, or never enter, the academic rat race; understandably, they seek escapes from the boredom, or from the competitiveness of classroom life.

Plenty of escapes from it all are offered to you here. You can become absorbed in theater, journalism, sports, or other extracurricular activities. Or you can relax into an easy-going haze of dope and music. Such escapes may ease the pain of your academic existence; or more likely, they just postpone it until the last-minute scramble to do a whole semester's work in reading period. But none of the forms of escape even attempt to explain, much less to alter, the basic frustration of education at Harvard. Why is it so boring, so pointless, so lonely, so alienating?

To understand the frustration, Harvard, and higher education in general, must be seen in a broad social context. Universities are not isolated institutions dedicated to an abstract ideal of learning; they are integral parts of our political and economic system. A college education is required for middle and upper-level jobs in government, business, health, education, and other professions; colleges exist to train you for those jobs. In short, your

education is alienating because it is preparing you for an alienating job.

Often students go through college, up to sometime in the senior year, with vague, rosy misperceptions about what they will do when they graduate. The mythology of a liberal arts education suggests that you will graduate to some undefined, exotic, independent or creative career. But the uncomfortable reality is that there simply aren't enough jobs for everyone to become zookeepers or forest rangers; only a few people can make a living as sandal-makers and even fewer as poets. Most college graduates must go to work in public education or some other branch of government, in private business, or in a profession. Most college graduates, in other words, will end up working in large bureaucratic organizations.

That is what Harvard trains you for: surviving and rising in the bureaucracy of your choice. Especially with such a prestigious alma mater, you will have a better chance than most people of rising to a position of power-- but only if you become an organization man (sic). Developing that personality in you is well under way: after all, you made it this far, you got through a "good" high school program with good grades. The finishing touches are scheduled to be put on in the next four years.

The controls are much less overt and frequent than in high school; as a future upper-level white-collar worker, you are expected to internalize the demands of your superiors, subject only to very occasional review (grading once a semester). Your courses will give you plenty of practice in dealing with various styles of arbitrary authority, guessing what different professors will want to hear. You will learn to relate to people on the basis of formal credentials-- grades, degrees, positions in the academic hierarchy. A lesson you learned in high school will be reemphasized: intellectual co-operation is frowned upon, and in many forms is known as "cheating"; competitive individualism is the preferred style of behavior in higher education.*

What is it that you are being trained to take part in? What kind of economic and political system requires the development of bureaucratic personalities? It is a system which must maintain top-down hierarchical control, in government and in private business; that's why bureaucracies are so important. It is a system based on production for profit in business, and on maintenance of the status quo, with or without marginal reform in government. In a word, we call it capitalism. Your future jobs will be alienating because they cannot be otherwise in a capitalist economy. Jobs which are fulfilling and creative to workers, safe and cheap to consumers, are impossible if they would cut into profits--and they usually would.

So your boredom and loneliness at Harvard are not just your individual problem, nor even just the problem of Harvard students. Your problem results from the nature of the capitalist system-- jobs must be alienating to keep the wheels turning; hence job training, at whatever level of formal education, is similarly alienating. It is a virtually universal problem; other jobs are even more painful than the ones you will face-- picture a non-college-preparatory high school program, preparing future workers for life on an assembly line.

The same capitalist system which produces alienated jobs causes other

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* No description of the educational process at Harvard could be complete without mentioning the college's historic function: educating the sons and daughters of the nation's elite. The children of America's richest families are given a chance to meet each other, to develop a common outlook toward the world they will inherit, and to absorb a few talented, upwardly mobile youths of more plebian origins into their ranks. This function of Harvard is not stressed here because, fortunately, it has retreated into a closed subculture, isolated from the majority of undergraduates. Most of you are being trained for (and many of you came from) the upper-middle-income white-collar world. Still, traces of Harvard's traditional role as a ruling class school can be seen all around you-- in the incredible opulence of much of of campus life (visit Currier House, or try to find out how much the faculty spends on sherry), or in the "born-to-rule" arrogance which is widespread among administrators, faculty and students.

problems as well, The unrestrained search for profits, the marvelous workings of private enterprise and competition, give rise to great inequalities of income and wealth; the "accidental side effects" of the system include pollution, advertising, unsafe cars and traffic jams, and deteriorations of the center cities. Racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination are ignored, or even strengthened, by the normal operation of a free market system.

Nor is the situation improved by the government, which has evolved quite in harmony with the needs of a capitalist economy. The government, myths and campaign speeches to the contrary, is not committed to righting injustice or removing inequality, to attacking problems caused by capitalism; at best it dabbles in minor reform, palliatives to guard against unrest.* Far more of it is determined to defend the status quo, to maintain capitalist power at home and abroad. Thus the government is part of the problem of the unending tragedy of Vietnam, of the potential future Vietnams around the world, of "law and order", especially against non-whites, at home. The litany of problems has become familiar; but familiarity has made it no less grim.

It doesn't have to be this way forever. Capitalism and its problems are not immovable; a better way of life is possible. Our goal is socialism, a co-operative, democratic, egalitarian, non-bureaucratic economic and political system. Socialism is not just a Utopia; parts of it have been achieved in other countries. Revolutions in China, Cuba, Vietnam (and yes, even Russia, though with even more qualifications) have brought about parts of our vision of socialism, have made vast improvements over the pre-revolutionary regimes of their countries. We want to go, and we believe the United States can go, much further, to create a totally democratic form of socialism.

We doubt that this brief summary of our views has converted you; we hope that it has interested you in further political discussions with us. And more than discussion: we urge you to join us in political action, for change is not brought about simply through pamphlets and discussions. This pamphlet is a guide to some of the political issues and forms of political activity which you can expect to meet at Harvard this year.

The political activities described here are not something remote and unimportant to your life as a student. They are part of a many faceted struggle against the system which traps us all in alienated jobs and alienated education. It will be a long, hard struggle to make socialism a reality in the United States; but it's for your life, too, and all of us. What could be more worth working for?

The Cambridge Movement
and
The New American Movement
(Radcliffe-Harvard chapter)

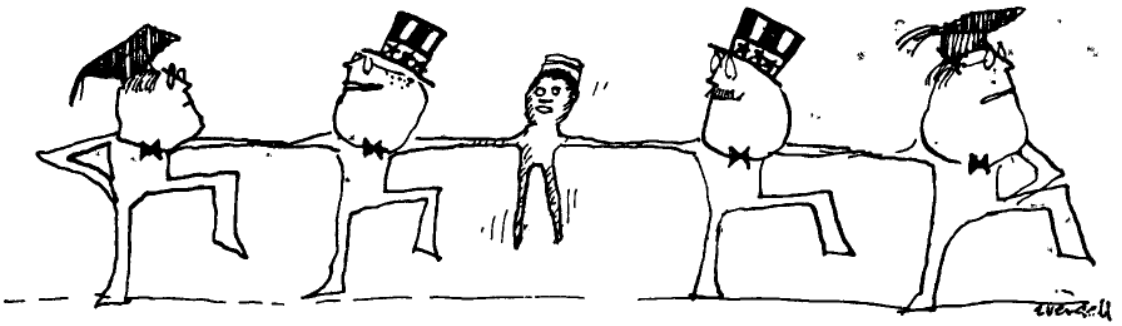
*We support many of the issues raised by the McGovern campaign. But we believe that McGovern's program, like that of any other politician, does not strike at the root problems of American society-- capitalism, sexism, racism, imperialism. McGovern has moved as far as he has, and will continue to do so, only as long as the radical pressure on him (and on the political system in general) continues.

Cambridge, the Universities, and the Cold War

There is an old saying, dating back to a less subtle era of class differences, that when you go to Philadelphia they ask you who your grandfather was, and when you go to New York they ask you what you are worth, but when you go to Boston they ask you what you know. As far as Boston is concerned, its still true, even more so today than it was at the turn of the century. The city and its immediate environs are littered with universities, institutes, laboratories, research associates, high-technology defense contractors, and the like. Meticulous preparation in some esoteric branch of higher learning is rivaling family and financial connections as the most important asset for a young man hoping to make a name (and a bundle) for himself.

Over fifteen years ago the intellectual and technical demands of the Cold War had already begun to transform the face of the Boston area. The ring road, Route 128, ("Pentagon Parkway" to local activists) was widened to accomodate the vast influx of high-technology firms lured to the Boston suburbs by the availability of attractive industrial parks and the proximity of MIT and Harvard. As the challenge to United States hegemony throughout the world increased, so did the amount of government and foundation money pouring into Harvard and MIT. MIT's laboratories -- the Lincoln Lab out near 128 and Instrumentation Lab on the Institute's home ground, have been key elements in the research and development boom here, employing over twelve hundred scientists and engineers to produce computers, air defense warning systems, missile guidance systems, night vision systems, and other military hardware. MIT annually receives about 75% of its budget from the government.

Harvard, on the other hand, serves the government not primarily by developing military hardware (although some of this is still done), but by so-called "peacefare" research -- war games, economic development models, cultural and psychological studies of insurgent populations, etc. This is more in accord with the university's "liberal" tradition, -- Harvard administrators are quick to point out that they have not succumbed to the temptations of allowing "classified research". as have their (implicitly) more corruptible colleagues at MIT. The distinction is an artificial one. The real issue is not "classified" vs. "unclassified research", but the politics of social science research per se - who funds it, why do they fund it, and who benefits from it. Harvard receives somewhere around 40% of its funds from the government. Other sources of revenue include income on a 1.3 billion dollar endowment (25%), tuition and fees, fund drives, special gifts, and last but not least, the foundation. Ford Foundation money is a major source of support for all of Harvard's foreign-affairs research centers. Harvard administrators also take pride in the fact that the university receives only a small portion of its budget from the Dept. of Defense. In 1967, for example, Harvard received only $4,247,000 in DOD contracts compared to MIT's $92,423,000. The bulk of Harvard's government money (55.4 million in 1967*) comes from the Departments of State, HEW, NASA, AEC, and other formally non-military agencies. But, one has only to answer the question, "Who makes U.S. foreign policy?" to realize that the adminis-



trators' pride is ill-founded. What difference is there between fabricating the weapons and formulating the policies which justify their use? Apologists for Harvard's "liberal scholarship" somehow conclude that the latter alternative is preferable --- dubious. The distinction between "clean" and dirty money is thin indeed. As one respected English commentator put it at the time of the CIA exposure, "I have never been able to see much difference between the vast wealth at the disposition of a Ford or Rockefeller or Carnegie Foundation and the revenues of the state: both surely are directed essentially towards the maintenance of the status quo."

Harvard's much-touted refusal to take in classified research does not necessarily mean that Harvard professors are not busily engaged in such endeavors on contract and off campus. They and their enterprising MIT colleagues found that it was both easier and more profitable to do classified contract research at the proliferating number of spin-off private research firms in Cambridge or along the 128 research and development complex. "As one penetrates deeply into the university research network," wrote Michael Klare in The University-Military Complex (NACLA, 1969), "the distinction between academic and non-academic functions disappears altogether. The trustee or administrator of a university research institute is more than likely the executive of a spin-off industry located in the nearby industrial park, and at the same time a consultant to the Pentagon bureau which administers contracts in his field of research." For example, consider the case of Harvard's own Harvey Brooks, Dean of the Division of Engineering and Applied Physics. Among his many other laurels, he is a member of the Naval Research Advisory Committee (most contracts in his department are doled out by - who else - the Office of Naval Research), the Volunteers for International Technical Assistance (to whom?) and the Hudson Institute (a defense-strategy think tank). He is also a director of the Raytheon Corporation, the biggest employer and the biggest military producer in the state. Raytheon's Mass prime contract awards in 1969 totaled $427,000,000. The company's total military sales are never fully known, since some of the subcontracting is never reported and ends up hidden in commercial sales. Perhaps 500 million is a more realistic minimum for its Mass. military business. Raytheon navigational bombing radars guide B-52 bombers in their daily runs over the free strike zones in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia. Its electronic and countermeasures equipment and communications gear also see use in Vietnam, as do its Hawk, Sparrow and Sidewinder missiles which are designed to protect ground installations and aircraft from attack by hostile aircraft. It is these missiles and countermeasures gear that make the U.S. AirForce secure, and thereby make possible the Nixon-Kissinger strategy of an anti-personnel air war using few American troops. One can imagine the overwhelming gratitude which the people of Indochina must feel towards Dean Harvey Brooks

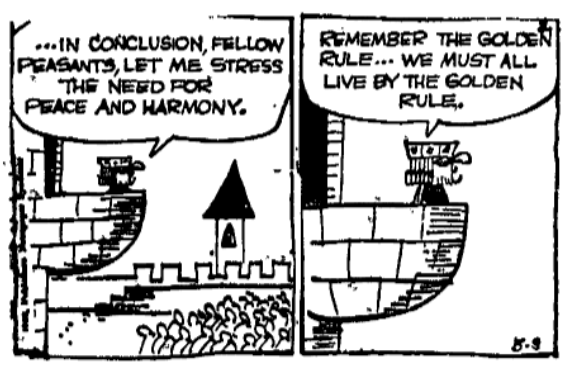
*This figure is simply the amount of expense reimbursed by the government. For Harvard (as for all universities) the total amount of government money proceeding here each year is greater than the accounts show. National Science Foundation Fellowships, for example, are granted to individuals who, in turn, pay tuition to Harvard. Many graduate students are employed as research assistants on government grants or contracts; a portion of their wages, then, presumably comes to the university in tuitions, etc. Note also that 40% is a composite figure, for the entire University. 57% of the budget of the Division of Engineering and Applied Physics was funded by the government, 0.2% of the budget of the Divinity School.

and scores of other patriotic academics who scurry around in the Boston area research complex, serving the government and hoping to enrich themselves in the process.

In 1971, Cambridge had 64 firms doing contract work for DoD; keep in mind that Cambridge is only one of several centers of research in the Boston area. Massachusetts alone took in $1,623,620,000 worth of defense contracts in 1968. Harvard, the largest corporation in Massachusetts in terms of the value of total assets, can claim a large share of the credit for bringing this wealth into the Boston area. Notes Michael Klare: "The spirit of cooperation that characterizes the components of the U.S. research network is not surprising when one discovers that more often than not the universities themselves are governed by men representing the corporation that stand to profit most from the universities' research activities." Raytheon, Mitre, Helios, Sanders Associates, Itek, Honeywell, GT&E, Adams-Russell, Baird Atomics, Standard Thompson, Cryogenic Technology, Cambridge Systems, Northrop, Sylvania, LE Mason, Keystone, and General Electric are some of the firms which have found Greater Boston a congenial and convenient place to do defense business.

What has been the effect of this massive influx of researchers and technicians on the city of Cambridge? What was once a predominantly blue collar manufacturing city is being rapidly transformed by university expansion, urban "renewal", and higher rents, into an upper middle class community of technocrats and scholars. According to one of the more outstanding examples of Harvard's "preliminary reports to facilitate discussion" (there are many) the Wilson Committee on the University and the City concluded, "in short, we are not optimistic that the university can play a major role in devising and carrying out 'comprehensive' solution to local community problems....." (with good reason - the universities are the problem!)..."Even with the most vigorous university action, we do not know how hopeful to be about the prospects for maintaining a heterogeneous city. It appears that without public and private action, natural forces will lead to a more homogeneous community and to the steady exodus of both those non-university residents and those faculty and graduate students unable to pay the high price of housing... The natural forces of supply and demand -- primarily for housing but also for commercial space -- are such that it is only necessary for Harvard to do nothing for Cambridge to become a predominantly upper-middle class community -- that is to say, a community very much like Harvard itself. But enlightened self-interest should lead us to cherish, and not simply to tolerate that diversity as useful to the educational purposes of the university." As one comes to expect from Harvard's public relations documents, the argument is clever, but the reasoning is perverted: university expansion and the university-sponsored research and the development boom (Wilson's "natural forces") are the causes of the dislocations in Cambridge. The committee cherishes "diversity" in the abstract while the Harvard Corporation proceeds to destroy it in the concrete. And even if it were true that Harvard wants to preserve "a measure of diversity and heterogeneity," the reason given for it ("diversity is useful to the educational purposes of the university") is enormously condescending. In the minds of many Harvardians, Cambridge would seem to exist only for the benefit of Harvard -- a portion of working class Cambridge should be preserved so that privileged Harvard students may become acquainted with the people they are being educated to manage and manipulate. Sure!

From whence cometh all this wealth and power and arrogance? A partial answer is given by an examination of the university's governing-boards and finances, to which we now turn.


...IN CONCLUSION, FELLOW PEASANTS, LET ME STRESS THE NEED FOR PEACE AND HARMONY.
REMEMBER THE GOLDEN RULE... WE MUST ALL LIVE BY THE GOLDEN RULE.
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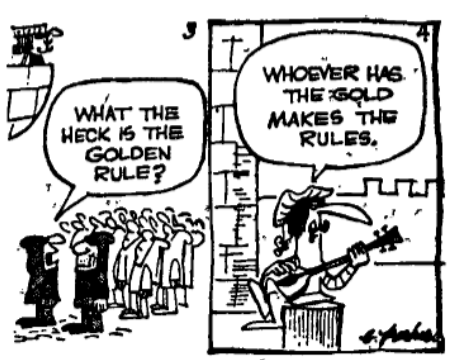


Corporate Power and the Power of the Corporation

For The People/CPS

The Harvard represented by the university administration describes itself as a business enterprise- a corporation. That this description is more than a figure of speech is not only experienced by every student in dealing with the university bureaucracy, but is revealed in the way the university invests, the content of the curriculum, the absence of democratic decisionmaking, and the high-handed way in which Harvard treats the Cambridge community. It is only fitting that on its board of directors sit the kind of men who are to be found in the interlocking directorate which runs American business, and that they see to it that Harvard continues to serve the needs of the corporations and the government.

Owners, Managers, Advisors, and Bureaucrats

The Harvard Corporation, according to the general catalogue, constitutes

> .... the principal governing board of the university, subject only to the consent of the Board of Overseers. All the property of every department of the University stands in their name; every faculty is subject to their authority; all changes in policy or in the University statutes require their consent; all degrees are voted and all appointments are made by them.

The Corporation is self-perpetuating (when a member dies or resigns his sucessor is chosen by the others) and has seven members: the President (Derek Bok), the Treasurer (George Bennett), and five other Fellows (Hugh Calkins, Francis Burr, Albert Nickerson, John Blum, and Charles Slichter).

Francis Burr, (A.B., Harvard, 1935; LL.B., Harvard, 1938) is a partner in the prestigious old law firm of Ropes and Gray in Boston. Ropes and Gray is, among other things, General Counsel to the MITRE Corp., a spinoff from MIT which grosses 26 million annually in electronic warfare business. Burr is a Director of State St. Investment Corp., which handles Harvard's investments (1.2 billion), and Old Colony Trust, which is the trustee for Raytheon's pension plan. Old Colony Trust holds 38% (4.2 billion) of all trust assets in the Boston area, and is affiliated with the First National Bank, which holds an additional 12% (1.3 billion) --essentially one banking operation has 50% of all trust assets in the Boston area. First National is also the principal depository for Raytheon.

As should be clear from the above discussion, investment banking in Boston is not much bothered by anti-trust, and "lawyer" Burr is heavily into investment banking, with a little war industry thrown in on the side for excitement and added profits. Burr is also a director of Fiduciary Co. of New York, American Employees Insurance, Gorton Corp., Federal St. Fund, Continental Screw and others.

George Bennett is President of State St. Investment and Treasurer of the Harvard Corporation. He is also President of Hanna Diversified Investments and a director of Middle South Utilities (see Ridgeway article), N.E. Electric System, Commonwealth Oil, and John Hancock Insurance.

Albert Nickerson, (A.B., Harvard, 1933) retired recently from the Chairmanship of Mobil Oil (80 million in military contracts last year) only to become a director of Raytheon, which did $500 million worth of business with the Pentagon last year. He is currently a member of the executive board, National Alliance of Businessmen; Member, Council on Foreign Relations, National Petroleum Council; director and treasurer, American Petroleum Institute, the propaganda arm of the oil industry.

Formerly, he was Chairman of the Balance of Payments Advisory for the U.S. Department of Commerce 1965-67; director, American Management Association 1948-51, 1953-56, 1958-61; Federal Reserve Board of New York, 1964-67; First National City Trust Company, 1952-56; Committee for Economic Development, 1961-65; overseer, Harvard College, 1959-65; President, 25-year club of the Petroleum Industry; Episcopalian; Republican, need we say more?

Charles Slichter (A.B., Harvard, 1945; A.M., 1947; Ph.d., 1949) is a professor of Physics in the Center for Advanced Studies at the University of Illinois. He is a member of the Research Board of the Graduate College, which helps allocate more than $10,000,000 in Dept. of Defense research and development funds -- the University of Illinois ranks fifth among the nation's top ten defense contractors and is also one of the sponsors of the Institute for Defense Analysis, a counter-insurgency wargames thinktank whose headquarters are located just down the road from the Pentagon (see Glossary). Son of a famous Harvard economics professor, the late Sumner Slichter, who advocated limitless cold war spending as the way to prosperity back in the early fifties, Professor Charles Slichter served as a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee from 1965-1969 and was elected to the National Academy of Sciences im 1967. He also served on the President's Medal of Science (1967-1971) and the Council of the American Physical Society (1967-70).

Prof. John Blum (A.B., Harvard, 1943; A.M., 1947; Ph.D., 1950) joined the faculty of Yale University in 1957, after nine years on the faculty of MIT. He is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the American Historical Association, and is the author of "The Promise of America" and other inspiring books.

Hugh Calkins, Cleveland lawyer, is a director of Brown & Sharp Mfg., a member of the Cleveland Small Business Opportunity Development Council, the Cleveland Board of Education and the Council on Foreign Relations.

How Harvard Invests.

(This section first appeared in The Closed Corporation by James Ridgeway, Random House, 1968. p. 39-41)

One of the more interesting features of the university is its conception of itself as a new-style investment trust. In his 1966 annual report, McGeorge Bundy, President of the Ford Foundation, said that the foundation had set up a committee to examine the management and investment practices of universities with an eye to helping them get better performance from their endowment funds. These now total $12 billion. One novel possibility was that Ford might help some of the smaller colleges in pooling their endowments into a kind of mutual fund. Then they might stalk the securities markets with several billion dollars instead of a few million and that way gain some leverage. This is another way for universities to gain some measure of power in the society. Harvard and Yale provide examples of how this sort of thing can work out.

Decisions as to where and how to invest Harvard's $1 billion endowment fund are made on advice of the treasurer by the six members of the self-perpetuating corporation which runs the university. The treasurer is George F. Bennett, who also is president of State Street Investment Corporation. State Street manages three mutual funds with assets of $600 million, and it also handles investments for Harvard. Francis H. Burr, a partner in the law firm of Ropes & Gray, also sits on the boards of both the Harvard Corporation and the State Street Investment Corporation. Bennett, thus, in addition to being paid as president of the investment company, also draws a small fee, said to be $25,000 a year, from Harvard for investment advice. When Bennett's company sees a good investment, it will often buy for both the mutual funds and Harvard. While Bennett's mutual funds in themselves are not especially large as the size of these funds goes, when he combines them with the $600,000,000 that is available in Harvard's endowment fund for stock investment, he enters the market with a leverage of $1.2 billion. The arrangement between State Street and Harvard was initially set up by State Street's founder, Paul C. Cabot, who preceded Bennett as treasurer of the university. When Cabot entered into selling securities held by both Harvard and State Street mutual funds, the funds would lead in buying or selling; so at least in theory, Bennett can purchase a stock for State Street Investment and drive it up by using Harvard's money to buy. Or, selling, he can dump a large holding belonging to State Street and then sell Harvard on a lower market. However, Bennett claims it never works out like this, and that, oddly, Harvard often does much better than State Street.

Harvard is involved in one potentially embarassing situation as a result of this investment combine. Both Harvard and State Street hold large blocks of stock in Middle South Utilities, Incorporated, a holding company which controls electric utilities in various southern states, including companies in Mississippi and Louisiana. State Street owns 485,000 of Middle South common stock; Harvard has 543,719 shares; Harvard Yenching Institute, an organization devoted to promoting higher education in Asia, of which Bennett is deputy treasurer, has 18,668 shares; Bennett himself holds 2,000 shares and is a director of the company. This is obviously in part by virtue of the large holdings he represents, and in part because he helped set up the company. In recent years Harvard undergraduates unsuccessfully challenged the university's Middle South stock holdings on the grounds that the southern companies were managed by racists, members of the Klan and White Citizens Councils, and that through its financial support Harvard was in fact aiding segregation. Bennett says he regards these utilities as public service companies, regulated under state laws: "I made a personal investigation, and satisfied myself that the officers were law-abiding citizens." When he was asked about the investment at a public meeting, Dr. Pusey declared, "If there are discriminatory practices, then the company should be prosecuted under federal law." When the students hissed at this, Pusey added, "Our purpose is just to invest in places that are selfishly good for Harvard. We do not use our money for social purposes."

The Board of Overseers, the senior governing body of the university, consists of 30 members elected annually in groups of five for six-year terms by the graduates of the University, with the President and Treasurer ex oficio. While the Corporation meets every two weeks during the academic year, the Overseers get together only eight times a year. They are listed below under the dates at which their terms expire:

Albert Gordon, A.B. cl'23, MBA cl '25, of New York City. Chief Executive Officer, Kidder Peabody & Company, investment bankers. Director and Member of Executive Committee, Burlington Industries and container Corporation of America. Director, Carnation Company; Collins Radio ($71.5 million in military prime contracts); Commercial Credit Company; FMC Corp. ($127 million in military prime contracts, 1971); Harris-Intertype Corp.; Raymond International, Inc.; Textile Banking Co., Inc.; Tubos de Acera de Mexico, S.A.; Trustee and Chairman of the Finance Committee, Smith College. Member, Overseers' Committee on University Resources, Committee to Visit the Graduate School of Business; Univeristy Resources Corporate Relations Committee; Chairman, Harvard Business School Committee for Executive Development Center Fund.

COMMENT - Bulwark of the capitalist system, war profiteer.

William Coolidge, A.B. cl '24, LL. B., cl '36, of Topsfield, Mass. Director, the Coca Cola Company, Crucible Steel, Ivest Fund, Inc., Nopco Chemical, Norton Company, Worcester (1.4 million in prime contracts to produce ceramic armor kits for the LTV-A7 Light Attack Aircraft. No.1 in Advanced Materials-Aircraft Armor Production); West Point-Pepperell Manufacturing Company. President, Board of Trustees, St. Mark's School; Life Member of the Corporation and Member of the Executive Committee, M.I.T. (around 90 million annually in DoD, R&D funds). Member, Visiting Committee, Harvard-M.I.T. Joint Center for Urban Studies.

COMMENT: charter member, military industrial complex club: "The Norton Company-where you can expect the unexpected" (company motto)

OVERSEER COOLIDGE'S NORTON COMPANY MAKES ARMOR FOR LTV A7 LIGHT ATTACK AIRCRAFT, HELPING THE AIR FORCE TO "EXPECT THE UNEXPECTED."
VOUGHT AERONAUTICS
The A-7 makes ground movement after dark a nightmare.

Gardner Cowles, A.B. cl '25 of New York City. Editorial Director and Chairman of the Board, Cowles Communications, Inc. President, Register and Tribune Company (Des Moines). Director, Bankers Life Compnay, General Development Corp., Lumberman's Mutual Casualty Co., R.H. Macy and Co., United Air Lines. Trustee, Committee for Economic Development. Member, Overseers Committee on University Resources, Overseers Committee to Visit the Department of Economics.

COMMENT - media magnate

Francis Keppel, A.B. cl '38, of New York City. Chairman and President, General Learning Corporation (New York). U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1962-65. Assistant Secretary for Education, Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1965-June 1966. Dean of the Faculty of Education, Harvard University, 1948-62. Board Member, Board of Foreign Scholarships, Dept. of State.

George Putnam, A.B. mcl '49, M.B.A. cl '51, of Manchester, Mass. President, The Putnam Management Company, Inc. Trustee and Direstor, The Putnam Funds. Director, American Mutual Liability Insurance, Boston Safe Deposit and Trust, The Boston Company, The Gorton Corp., State St. Life Insurance Co., etc. Trustee, Mass. General Hoppital, St. Mark's School, etc. Member, Overseers Committee on University Resources. Trustee, Harvard Mutual Foundation.

COMMENT - "charitable" businessman

William Davis Taylor, '31, of Boston, Mass. Chairman of the Board and General Manager, The Boston Globe. Member of the Board, and former President, Metropolitan Sunday Newspapers, Inc. (New York). Director, American Newspapers Publishers Association. Member of the Board, Labor Relations of the American Newspaper Publishers Association. Chairman, National Nieman Foundation Committee of Harvard. Member, Overseers Visiting Committee on University Resources.

COMMENT - Media Magnate II

Theodore Harold White, A.B. '38, of New York City. Writer and Consultant. Member of the Council, Authors League of America, and Member of the Council, Author's Guild of America. Consultant to CBS News and Public Affairs, and to Atheneum Publishers. Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Member, Council on Foreign Relations. Author of "The Making of the President - 1960", "The Making of the President - 1964" and other books. Member, Board of Directors, Associated Harvard, Alumni, 1964-67. Member, Overseers Visiting Committee on East Asian Civilization.

COMMENT - pen-pusher for the elite - a great believer in the American political process, and "action intellectuals".

Robert Channing Seamans, Jr., S.B. '40 of Cambridge, Mass. S.M. '42, and D.Sc. '51, MIT; SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE, 1968. Visiting Professor of Aeronautics and Astronautics and of Management, MIT; Consultant to Administrator, NASA. Deputy Administrator, 1965-68, and Associate Administrator, NASA. Chief Engineer, Missile Electronics and Control Division, 1958-60, and Manager, Airborne Systems Laboratory, 1955-58, RCA. Associated with MIT as Associate Professor, 1949-55; Director, Flight Control Laboratory, 1953-55; Chief Engineer, Project Meteor, 1950-53; Member, American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, American Ordnance Association, etc. Advisory Committee on Management Development Programs, Graduate School of Business Administration.

COMMENT - the university-military-industrial complex in human form; Nixon's lieutenant in charge of the Air War; specialty: perversion of the intellect.

Andrew Felton Brimmer, Ph.D '57, of Washington, D.C. Member, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, Washington, D.C. Assistant Secretary, 1965-66 and Deputy Assistant Secretary, 1963-65 for Economic Affairs, U.S. Dept. of Commerce. Assistant Professor of Economics, Wharton School of Commerce, 1961-63. Economist, Federal Reserve Board of New York, 1955-58.

COMMENT - bourgeois economist, bureaucrat.

Walter Nathan Rothschild, Jr., A.B. '42 of New York City. Chairman, New York Urban Coalition, 1970-, and Downtown Brooklyn Development Committee, 1967-. Former President, Abraham and Straus, 1962-70. Director, Seaboard World Airlanes, Inc., and New York City Public Development Corporation. Trustee, Bowery Savings Bank, United States Trust Company.

COMMENT - your basic establishment "liberal"; urban renewer-remover

Three jets came, dropping bombs ...We went to count the bombs and the holes of the bombs that had fallen on the wat and found that there were 28. And many bullets which had also hit. The wat was lost completely...After that, we didn't know if we should build another wat. If we built again, we were afraid it would be bombed again. -- Lao man, age 69

Frank Stanton Deland, Jr., A.B. '36, LL.B. '40, of Brookline, Mass. Partner in law firm of Sherburne, Powers & Needham (Boston). Trustee, Eaton and Howard Balanced Income and Stock Funds, and Director, Eaton and Howard Growth and Special Funds. Trustee, Brookline Trust Company. Director, Colonial Operating Company, Inc.; EPEC Industries, Inc.; Datahdin Industries, Inc.; Educational Electronics, Inc.; Boston Educational Research co., Inc.; Brookline Savings Bank. President, Affiliated Hospitals Center.

COMMENT - Harvard expansionist; destroyer of low income housing in Roxbury to make way for Affiliated Hospitals complex.

Calvin Hastings Plimpton, M.D. '43, A.M. '47, of Amherst, Mass. Formerly, President of Amherst College; presently, President of the Downstate Medical Center, Brooklyn, N.Y. Trustee, American University of Beirut, Lebanon; World Peace Foundation; University of Massachusetts, 1962-69; Phillips Exeter Academy. Director, The Commonwealth Fund. Member, American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Alan Jay Pifer, A.B. '44, of New York City, President, Carnegie Corporation of New York, and The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Trustee: African-American Institute. President-elect Nixon's Task Force on Education, 1968. National Assembly for Social Policy and Development; Council on Social Work Education. Member: Management Committee, U.S. South Africa Leader Exchange Program; Advisory Committee on Higher Education, HEW; Planning Committee for UNESCO Conference on Higher Education in Africa, 1962; R&D Center Panel, Co-operative Research Program, U.S. Office of Education, 1963-65; Panel of Advisors, Bureau of African Affairs, U.S. Dept. of State, 1967-68. Founding Fellow, Africa Studies Association. Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

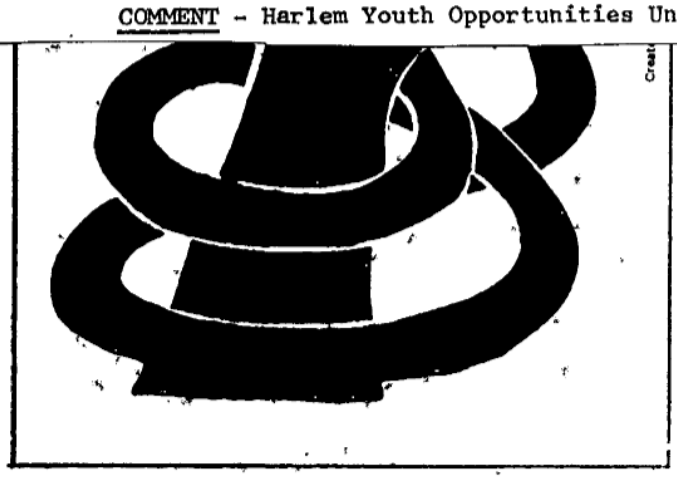
COMMENT - educational-imperialist, member-in-good-standing, Washington-Harvard-Foundations-Foreign Policy Establishment. "Africanist".

John Brademas, A.B. '49, of Washington, D.C., U.S. Rep., Third Indiana District, 1959. Member, Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives, and Chairman, Select Labor Subcommittee (1968), Task Force on International Education (1966), and Advisory Group on Higher Education (1961-62), Assistant Majority Whip, 90th-91st Congresses, Overseers Committee to Visit the JFK School of Government, etc.

COMMENT - A Rhodes-Scholar politician; Harvardian with all the right qualities; "liberal".

Clifford Leopold Alexander, Jr., A.B. '55, of Washington, D.C., LL.B '58, Yale University. Chairman, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Member, Commission on Income Maintenance Programs. Formerly: Special Consultant to President Johnson on Civil Rights; Deputy Special Counsel to the President; Foreign Affairs Officer, National Security Council (1963-63); Executive Director, Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited.

COMMENT - Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited????? Who does he think he's kidding?



about 15% of the total voluntary support received by colleges.

But today, business gets half the college-trained people who are employed. Tomorrow, it will need even more.

As a result, businessmen should think seriously about increasing the level of corporate giving to education. Can you, as a businessman, think of a better investment?

Helen Homans Gilbert, A.B. '36, of Washington, D.C. Chairman, Board of Trustees, Radcliffe College, 1955--; Trustee, Radcliffe, 1950--: Acting President, 1964-65.

Louis Wellington Cabot, A.B. '43, M.B.A. '48, of Boston, Mass. Chairman of the Board, Cabot Corporation. Trustee, Carnegie Corporation of New York; The Brookings Institution; Northeastern University; Museum of Science. Member, the Business Council, National Industrial Conference Board; Council on Foreign Relations; Committee for Corporate Support of American Universities. Director and New England Regional Chairman, National Alliance of Businessman. Director, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston; New England Telephone; Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corp. Term member of Corporation, MIT, 1963-68, etc., etc...

COMMENT - Another one of those inimitable Boston Cabots; "the Lowells speak only to the Lodges, the Lodges speak only to the Cabots, and the Cabots speak only to God"; international capitalists since the 18th century; more recently, United Fruit Co., et al.

Wade Hampton McCree, Jr., J.D. '44, of Detroit, Michigan. A.B., '41, Fisk University. LL.D. (hon.); Harvard University and others. Judge, U.S. Court of Appeals (6th District). Director, Federal, Judicial Center. Member, charities and associations too numerous to mention.

COMMENT- Sometimes it pays to work within the system.

Donald Kennedy, A.B. '52, A.M. '54, Ph.D., '56, of Palo Alto, California. Professor and Chairman, Dept. of Biological Sciences, Stanford University. Member, all the usual honorary and professional societies.

John Jay Iselin, A.B. '56, Ph.D. '65, of New York City. Currently, Vice-President and General Manager of WNET-TV, Channel 13, New York City Public Television. Vice-President and Publisher, Harper & Row, Publishers, 1969-? Senior Editor for National Affairs, Newsweek magazine, 1965-69. Associate Editor, Washington Bureau of Newsweek, 1962-65. Senior writer, Congressional Quarterly, 1961-62. Marshall Scholar 1956-58. Brookings Fellow, Washington, D.C., 1960-61.

COMMENT- Media whiz kid.

The President and Fellows announced on May 4th that they had voted or will vote for proxy resolutions requiring greater disclosure of information from General Motors and Ford Motor Companies. They will abstain from voting on a resolution [illegible] Gulf Oil Company's op-

tion (Fortune-Jan. '71) **U.S. hegemony is on the wane in the arena of multinational business. According to recent estimates, foreign companies already produce more goods and services outside their national borders than American companies do outside the U.S. And while the U.S. still accounts for some $70 billion of the non-Communist world's $120 billion or so of foreign direct investment, Japanese and German companies are currently expanding their overseas holdings at a faster clip than the U.S.** ***Two new studies financed by the Ford Foundation will focus on the foreign-***

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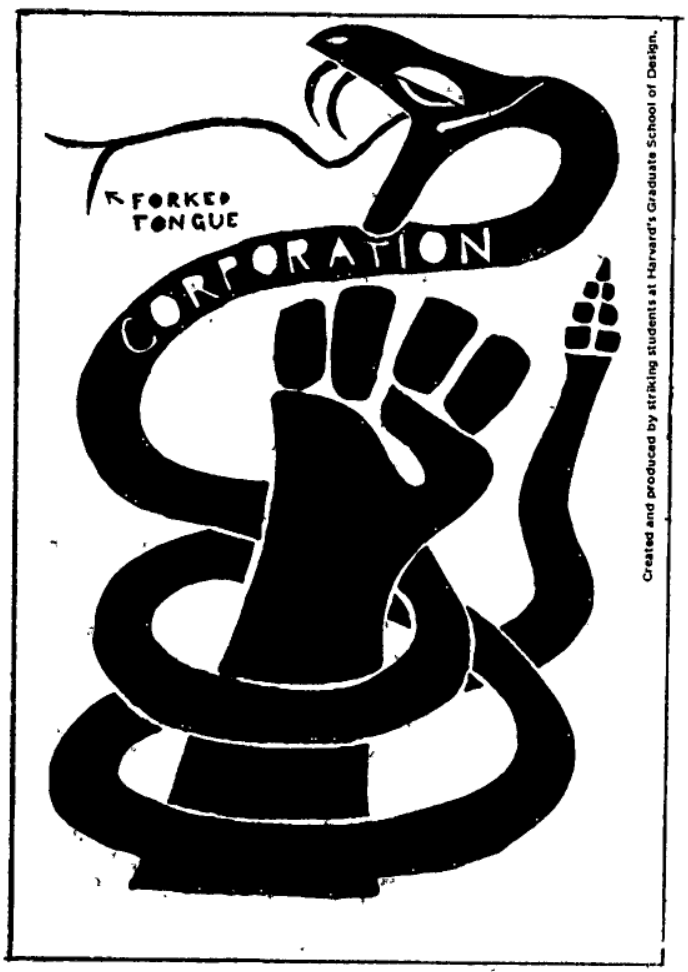
Amyas Ames, A.B. '28, M.B.A. '30, of New York City. Chairman of the Board, Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, Inc., and of the Board of the Philharmonic Symphony Society of New York, Inc. Formerly Chairman, now vice-chairman, Executive Committee of Kidder, Peabody & Co., Inc. Member, Board of Trustees, Carnegie Corporation of New York and Board of Directors, Rockefeller Center, Inc. Chairman of Joint Committee on Education, representing American securities business, 1951-69. President, Investment Bankers Association of America, 1963, and Chairman, Executive Committee, 1964. Governor for two terms, New York Stock Exchange, 1949-55.

COMMENT- Another Kidder & Peabody stockbroker, this time with culture.

Edward Thaxter Gignoux, A. B. '37, LL.B '40, of Portland, Me.
United States District Judge for the District of Maine, 1957--. Member, State Department Advisory Committee on International Law and a dozen other professional associations.

Amory Houghton Jr., A. B. '50, M. B. A. '52, of Corning, New York.
Chairman of the Board and chief executive officer, Corning Glass Works. Director, Signetics Corporation, Cohart Refractories Company, Corning Glass Works of Canada, Ltd., Corning Glass International, S. A., Dow Corning Corporation, Pittsburgh Corning Corporation, New York Telephone, International Business Machines ($316 million in military prime contracts, 1971), and First National City Bank of New York. Member, National Industrial Conference Board, Business Council, etc....

COMMENT- Corning, IBM, FNCB -- an imperialist pure and simple; organized Foundation on Youth and Student Affairs, main conduit for pumping CIA funds into student organizations.



DO COLLEGES HELP BUSINESS AS MUCH AS BUSINESS HELPS COLLEGES?

Yes, they do. But not in the same proportion.

Business contributes about 15% of the total voluntary support received by colleges.

But today, business gets half the college-trained people who are employed. Tomorrow, it will need even more.

As a result, businessmen should think seriously about increasing the level of corporate giving to education. Can you, as a businessman, think of a better investment?

Terry Falk Lenzer, A. B. '61, LL.B '64, of Washington, D. C.
Attorney. Former National Director of the Office of Legal Services, Office of Economi
Opportunity (Washington). Former Special Assistant to the Director, Office of Economi
Opportunity. Assistant to the President of the New York City Board of Education, 1969
Varsity Football: Captain, 1960-61; Assistant Coach, 1961-63.
COMMENT- Incarnation of the Harvard Ideal -- sure to get ahead.

Mary Lathrop Bundy (Mrs. McGeorge Bundy), A. B. '46, of New York City.
Trustee, Radcliffe College, 1961--; Vice-Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Radclif
College, 1966--; and member of the Council, 1964. Trustee of the Metropolitan Museum
Art.

June, 1978
Recent Acquisitions

Marina von Neumann Whitman, Radcliffe '56, of Pittsburgh and Washington, D. C.
Professor of Economics, University of Pittsburgh, and member of the President's Coun-
cil of Economic Advisers.

Thomas I. Atkins (Indiana University '61) A. M. '63, J. D. '69, of Boston.
Secretary for Community and Development for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Adele Smith Simmons, Radcliffe '63, of Cambridge. Dean of Women, Jackson College.

Charles H. W. Foster, '51, of Needham, Mass., Secretary for Environmental Affairs
of the Commonwealth.

Daniel P. S. Paul, '46, LL.B '49, M.P.A. '49, of Miami. Lawyer, Partner, Paul &
Thomson.

LOOKING BACK FIVE YEARS -- from an S.D.S. pamphlet, 1968

To give some idea of just what level of the corporate structure these men represe
of the five largest financial empires in America (totalling well over $200 billion)--
Morgan, Rockefeller, Kuhn-Loeb, Du Pont, and Mellon--leading members of the first fo
are also helping to run Harvard: Lamont, David Rockefeller, John L. Loeb, and Lamont
Du Pont Copeland.

Just as interesting as the quantity of financial power held by the Overseers is i
quality. For example, when South Africa was in financial straits in 1961, four Harva
banks jumped to its rescue with huge loans: Chase Manhattan contributed $10 million,
First National City Bank $5 million, First National of Boston $4 million, and Morgan
Guaranty Trust joined with the others in setting up a revolving fund for South Afric
use. Morgan is represented at Harvard by Lamont, Chase Manhattan by its president Da
Rockefeller and director Douglas Dillon, First National City Bank by executive vice
president Robert Hoguet and trustee Amory Houghton, and First National of Boston by
senior vice president Augustin Parker and director Thomas D. Cabot. Cabot is also a
former president of the notorious United Fruit Co. (one of the fiercest exploiters
of Latin America), of which his fellow Overseer Edward L. Bigelow is also now a dire

The Overseers are not only tied in with the top ranks of the corporate world,
but with government too. For instance, there is C. Douglas Dillon, former chairman o
Dillon, Read & Co. (one of the largest investors in South Africa) who was Secretary
the Treasury for five years before moving on to the board of Chase Manhattan. There
also his colleague, Paul Nitze, a former vice president of Dillon, Read who became
Secretary of the Navy and later assistant Secretary of Defense. Robert Amory, Jr.
served on the National Security Council Planning Board at the time that he was deput
director of the CIA, 1952-1962. Amory Houghton organized the Foundation on Youth and
Student Affairs as the main conduit pumping CIA funds into student organizations; hi
fellow Overseer Francis Plimpton now directs that foundation.

Harvard's Investments in Southern Africa

During the last school year, the Pan-African Liberation Committee and the Harvard-Radcliffee Association of African and Afro-American Students attempted to persuade Harvard University to accept their demands for divestiture of the Corporation's $15 million worth of Gulf Oil stock. Efforts proceeded from polite discussions and an

pique the slave trade expanded to economically compensate for the temporary loss of northern coastal trading areas to Arab chants around 1700.

munity-wide support to demonstrations on's refusal to divest led to the from April 20-26 by 34 members of PALC

ortugal's policies toward her African lings underwent radical change toward the of the 19th century. Following the Berconference of 1884-85, which provided for systematic partitioning of the African inent (and which is the premise upon h Portugal currently justifies her "legaintion of all her African territories), tugal set out to secure the areas assigned to her. Military forces infiltrated the

ministrator, Stephen Farber, to onship between Gulf and the war that against the Angolan people. It is rsist in trying to persuade Harvard

Other actions will be taken, including National Boycott of Gulf products. ment here in the hope that it will build a movement to confront the icies.

On March 5th, 1971, the conclusion of the Harvard Committee on University Relations on Corporate Enterprise were released, prescribing a fundamental philosophy for the investment activities of Harvard University. These conclusions, contained in what is commonly referred to as the Austin Report, urged the University be guided by a philosophy designed to realizing maximum return on all monies invested.

Underlying the report's emphasis on financial return as the fundamental investment criteria are repeated references to the restricted nature of Harvard's "mission" as an educational facility and the constraints which such a role places upon morally sensitive and socially responsible handling of investment capital. Harvard's adherence to the limitations of a "special purpose organization with endowments which can be used only for the purposes for which given" seems to imply some assumptions concerning the moral and social attitudes of its benefactors as well as a reluctance to publicly assert a financially damaging position.

Nevertheless, one of the conclusions contained in the report states that there exists conflicting criteria for institutional investment policy, criteria which recognize the extent to which the activities of corporate enterprises are "contrary to fundamental and widely shared ethical principles."

It should be apparent, in the most casual interpretation of ethical standards, that many of the financial associations of Harvard University stand clearly in violation of such criteria and that the time has come for a thorough and critical examination of Harvard's relationship to the welfare of the society in which it exists.

By engaging in investments in corporations whose profits are tied to subjugation of African peoples, Harvard has demonstrated a marked lack of concern for the struggles of these people to expel the forces of Western economic control.

The connection between Harvard and Portugal is very simple and clear. Harvard invests in American corporations which are operating in the Portuguese colonies. For operating in these colonies, these corporations are required to pay vast amounts of money to the Portuguese government. This money is then used by the Portuguese government to finance their wars against the freedom fighters of Angola and Mozambique. Last year half of the total government budget of Portugal went toward the war effort.

There are, therefore, three important links in the chain which holds the people of Angola and Mozambique in bondage: (1) the Portuguese government, (2) the corporations operating in the Portuguese colonies, and (3) the persons and institutions that own the stock of these corporations.

Although this document will discuss Harvard's economic affiliation with numerous corporations currently operating in Southern Africa, it will concentrate upon one case which is of special concern, Gulf Oil Corporation's lucrative oil drilling concession in the Cabinda region of Angola, which contributes substantially to Portugal's efforts to perpetuate colonialist control of the African people.

PORTUGAL IN AFRICA

To fully appreciate the significance of Gulf's presence on Angolan soil, it is important to understand some aspects of colonial administration of the Portuguese African holdings. The consequences of present Western economic interference in Angola are strongly related to some historical peculiarities surrounding Portugal's colonial policy.

Portugal's initial contact in Africa occurred in northern Angola in 1483 near the mouth of the Congo river. The early years of Portuguese interference among the Ngola peoples (from which the region derived its name) were marked by extensive slave trading which, except for intense resistance before 1600, continued essentially unchecked until the middle of the 19th century. Although original Portuguese explorers were driven o

irst National City Bank by executive vice loughton, and First National of Boston by irector Thomas D. Cabot. Cabot is also a uit Co. (one of the fiercest exploiters rseer Edward L. Bigelow is also now a dir

the top ranks of the corporate world, re is C. Douglas Dillon, former chairman estors in South Africa) who was Secretary on to the board of Chase Manhattan. There ice president of Dillon, Read who became Secretary of Defense. Robert Amory, Jr. anning Board at the time that he was deput nton organized the Foundation on Youth and g CIA funds into student organizations; hi s that foundation.

by the greed for precious metals, the immensely profitable slave trade quickly became the foundation for the economic exploitation of Angola.

The ruthlessness which characterized the actions of expansionist Portugal at this time should not be surprising since the Pope in 1452 granted to the king of Portugal "full rights to capture the Saracens, pagans, and other infidels in your properties...to subjugate them and reduce them to perpetual slavery."[3] So ex sive was the Portuguese slave trade that by 1830 over 3 million African people had been removed from their homeland to be sold.

Meanwhile, in Mozambique, the economic framework developed somewhat differently. After their arrival in 1498, the Portuguese wrested an existing trade network from the Arabs, who had controlled the exploitation of East Africa from Malindi to the coast of what is now Mozambique. Ivory, gold and precious stones formed the basis of Portugal's economic activity and led to a firmly entrenched commercial establishment along the coast of Mozambique. Although their political authority was limited to the coastal region, Portuguese merchants gained a monopolizing role in commerce from the interior which continued for more than 200 years. Except for limited attempts to forcefully colonize the Angolan coast between 1565 and 1592, both regions were exploited in a casual fashion for more than four centuries. The fact that Portugal enjoyed unchallenged access to these areas during this period made it unnecessary for her to seek formal political control beyond the coastal strips of both Angola and Mozambique. Moreover, intense tribal hostilities in the interior would have made such a policy impractical if not impossible. The primary usefulness of Angola continued to be a reservoir of slave labor, while in Mozambique the slave trade expanded to economically compensate for the temporary loss of the northern coastal trading areas to Arab merchants around 1700.

Portugal's policies toward her African holdings underwent radical change toward the end of the 19th century. Following the Berlin Conference of 1884-85, which provided for the systematic partitioning of the African Continent (and which is the premise upon which Portugal currently justifies her "legal" retention of all her African territories), Portugal set out to secure the areas assigned to her. Military forces infiltrated the

interior of Mozambique, establishing a network of control which resulted in an effective colonial stronghold at the turn of the century. Although considerably stronger tribal resistance was encountered in Angola, the inland people were ultimately subdued and a firm Portuguese hegemony was established by the early part of the twentieth century.

Attempts were subsequently made to stimulate the development of the colonial economies through the leasing of large tracts of land to private Portuguese investors who were granted an unlimited mandate for economic exploitation. While they enjoyed unquestioned control of mineral and agricultural rights, and the lives of the African inhabitants, these companies realized only token profits during the first half of the twentieth century. Portugal's limited resources did not permit full exploitation of the economic potential of the colonies, and mineral wealth remained largely undiscovered until the 1960s.

Thus Angola and Mozambique, representing a combined area somewhat larger than Alaska, have been economic props for poverty-striken Portugal for most of her 480-year occupation of these territories. The ruthless and racist policies with which Portugal pursued the management of these areas was strongly manifested in the rigid domination and cultural repression which led to open rebellion of the Angolan people in 1961. These insurgents

were joined by Mozambican revolutionaries in 1964 and Portugal began to desperately cast about for economic support in order to maintain the colonial system.

The combined efforts of the various African liberation organizations had produced a military situation far too complex and expensive for Portugal to manage alone. The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), and the People Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) have respectively mounted intensive guerilla operations. Portuguese efforts to subdue these operations have consumed a massive outlay of resources.

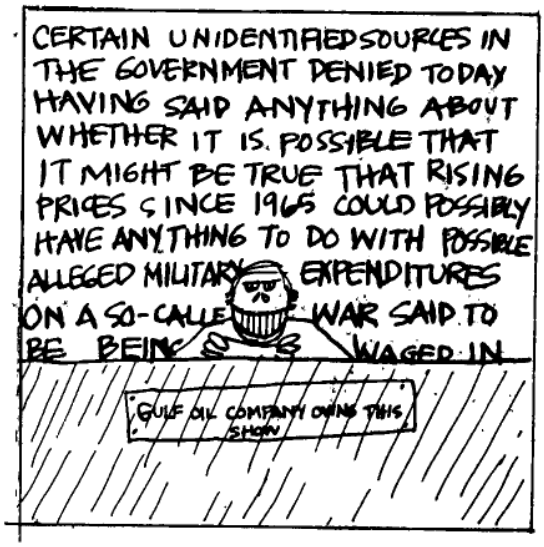
These growing military expenditures became a costly burden which Portugal could ill afford; finally, in 1965, Portugal reversed her traditional policies and openly encouraged foreign investment in the "overseas provinces" in order to help stabilize her economy.

In search of profits, many American investors quickly rushed to fill the void, entering into trade agreements which concentrated on mining, manufacturing, and agricultural processing. Some trade agreements included provisos which allow Portugal to exercise complete control over raw material production in the event of a military emergency. Thus, both directly and indirectly, U.S. business interests contribute to the oppressive, racist policies with which Portugal has supervised the control of African land. Furthermore, the unchallenged actions of these firms indicates the tacit endorsement of Portuguese policy by the United States government itself.

Five hundred years of colonial rule have shown that the Portuguese Government is not interested in liberalizing its policies. Th negative response of big business to request that they stop doing business in these areas shows that the corporations are not likely t change their policies as a result of moral pressures. Therefore, it is necessary for the third link in the chain, the stockholder to take definite steps to stop the investmen of American money in the Portuguese colonies

HARVARD UNIVERSITY: INVESTMENT POLICY

Through its investment policies, Harvard University has exhibited a complete disregar for the human rights of African people by its continued economic support of the Republic of South Africa and of Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique. The racist apartheid policies of the Republic of South Africa are a matter of common knowledge and no attempt shall be made to elaborate on them in this paper. However, our failure to deal with those practices in this paper should not be interpreted as a judgment that the problems we are presently addressing are more important than those existing in South Africa. We equally condemn apartheid in South Africa and colonialism in Angola and Mozambique. Moreover, world opinion, as expressed by the United Nations, is also clearly opposed to these policies and to the governments of Portugal and South Africa which perpetuate them. Yet, Harvard University ha


CERTAIN UNIDENTIFIED SOURCES IN THE GOVERNMENT DENIED TODAY HAVING SAID ANYTHING ABOUT WHETHER IT IS POSSIBLE THAT IT MIGHT BE TRUE THAT RISING PRICES SINCE 1965 COULD POSSIBLY HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH POSSIBLE ALLEGED MILITARY EXPENDITURES ON A SO-CALLED WAR SAID TO BE BEING WAGED IN
GULF OIL COMPANY OWNS THIS SHOW

no reservations about investing in companies which are making large profits as a result of these policies. For example, the Report of the Treasurer of Harvard University for 1970 reveals that of 183 common stocks invested in by Harvard University, 54 of these companies had substantial investments in South Africa.

The continuation of investment in all of Southern Africa means only one thing -- oppression and exploitation of the people of Southern Africa and their land.

During the relatively short period since the relaxing of Portugal's restrictions upon foreign investment in Angola and Mozambique more than 30 U.S. companies have established ongoing operations which undergird the colonial economies. Among the companies operating in Mozambique and Angola are:

1 - Caterpillar Tractor Company
2 - Chase Manhattan Bank
3 - General Electric Company
4 - Getty Oil Company (via Mission, and Skelly Oil Company)
5 - Gulf Oil Company
6 - I.B.M.
7 - I.T.T (via Standard Electric)
8 - Charles Pfizer & Company
9 - Standard Oil of California
10 - Texaco Oil Company
11 - Union Carbide

Each of the above named firms has a substantial investment in Angola and/or Mozambique and, as might be expected, each is significantly involved in the Republic of South Africa. However, the most significant characteristic that all of these companies have in common is that Harvard University holds a substantial amount of stock in each of them. Specifically, Harvard's holdings are as follows:

STOCK	NO. OF SHARES	BOOK VALUE (in 1970)
Caterpillar	165,482	$ 5,729,814
Chase Manhattan	40,020	1,690,845
General Electric	99,039	6,685,132
Getty Oil	107,000	4,601,000
Gulf Oil	671,187	15,437,301
I.B.M.	187,408	46,852,000
I.T.T.	40,413	1,394,248
Pfizer	13,500	406,687
Standard Oil of California	190,380	7,662,795
Texaco	770,259	20,026,734
Union Carbide	69,644	2,359,248
Total Investment in companies operating in Angola and Mozambique		$112,845,746

As might be expected, the degree of involvement with the Portuguese military effort varies appreciably among companies. Caterpillar supplies agricultural and heavy equipment. Chase Manhattan is associated with Banco Totta Alianca of Portugal and Banco Totta Standard of Angola S.A.R.L. General Electric provided a credit loan of $1.2 million in 1967 to aid in the mining of iron ore at Cassinga, Angola. Getty Oil's subsidiary, Skelly Oil, in a consortium with Sunray (Sun Oil) and Clark Oil, was granted a 3 year, 14.4 million acre, on-and off-shore, oil prospecting concession by the Portuguese Government in October 1967. They contracted to spend $3½ million by January 1970. After 2 years of exploration and off-shore test drilling Sunray became optimistic about prospects and estimated a cost of $6-7 million for its current drilling program.

I.T.T.'s subsidiary, Standard Electric, opened a plant near Lisbon in 1968 which manufactures electronic components, and its first main project will be to improve Portuguese communications systems in Lourenco Marques and Beira, Mozambique. Texaco was granted concessions in January 1968 and has joint agreements with Angol (a Portuguese and South African controlled oil company) and with Petrangol (Portuguese and Belgian control) for oil prospecting in the Congo area of Angola, on- and off-shore. The joint Angol-Texaco group is expected to invest $5 million in deep sea oil research by 1975. The joint Petrangol group has invested $10½

million between June 1968 and June 1971, and Texaco is also a large fuel dealer in Angola. Furthermore, in an area of Mozambique currently under Frelimo control, Texaco had been granted a 3 year oil prospecting concession when last reported. I.B.M. and Pfizer are currently marketing manufactured goods.

While it is conceded that these firms are involved in Portuguese colonies to varying degrees, any involvement indicates the possibility of expansion. A case in point is the involvement of the Gulf Oil Company. Gulf Oil is the largest single American investor in Portuguese Africa. It began prospecting in Cabinda in 1954, made its first oil strike in 1966 and had invested $130 million by the end of 1969 in developing the most profitable oil venture in Portuguese Africa. Gulf, the sole concessionaire in Cabinda, is planning further massive expansion (a projected $76 million) in the immediate future and regards Cabinda as "one of the major growth areas in the corporation".

It must be pointed out that 90% of Cabinda was brought under the control of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in 1961, and during that time Gulf's Cabinda operations were suspended. However, the government eventually recaptured Cabinda and since Gulf's large oil find in 1966 the government has made increased efforts to "pacify" Cabinda. The "pacification" program was an integral part of the contract between Portugal and Gulf as is reported by the following excerpt from Africa Today:

> Thus the Portuguese were carrying out their side of the contract with Gulf Oil, for in the contract they specifically agreed to undertake such measures as may be necessary to ensure the Company may carry out its operations freely and efficiently, including measures to permit the Company the use of and free access to public land and such measures as may be necessary to prevent third parties from interfering with the Company's free exercise of its contractual rights.
>
> Further the authorities agree to provide military guards to protect oil fields if special security measures prove necessary. Complimentary to these security measures all foreign company contracts now stipulate that the company involved is bound to support the Portuguese Government in securing peace and order. Allocations for construction of military barracks and payments to the Portuguese Government for the defense of national property are other standard clauses in current contracts.

The result of this situation has been to create armed citadels "surrounded by 8-foot barbed wire fences and spotlights" and employing security guards who are "expected to keep watch for sabotage".

> The 1966 contract between Gulf and the Portuguese Government involved a whole series of payments to be made by Gulf during the life of the agreement.
>
> Payments included: (1) surface rent, (2) bonuses, (3) income tax equivalent to 50% of any profit, (4) a contribution to the Mining Development Fund, and certain concession payments. When Gulf signed the new agreement at the end of 1968 the Portuguese were facing escalation of the war on all three battlefronts in Africa. The metropolitan Portuguese budget was already effectively allocating almost 50% of all annual expenditure to the war. Still more money was needed - Gulf proved to be at least one source of such revenue. Thus the new contract was drastically revised, giving the government considerable extra financial benefits.
>
> It seems relevant to point out that the provisional Angola budget allocation for military expenditure for 1969 was double that amount, $1,250 million escudos - $44 million.

The significance of Gulf's presence in Cabinda was clearly described recently in the Southern Africa Task Force Proxy Statement on Gulf Oil Corporation, March 24,1971

> (First) the oil Gulf is extracting from Cabinda is a crucial strategic material and Portugal has the right to buy a significant percentage of that oil. Additionally, in time of war, Portugal reserves the right to buy the totality of production.
>
> The Governor-General of Angola, Rebocho Vaz, has stated...In the mechanized wars of our times, its

(oils) principal derivative, petrol, plays a preponderant part that without reserves of this fuel it is not possible to give the Army sufficient means and elasticity of movement. The machines cannot move without fuel ... Hence, the valuable support of Angolan oils for our armed forces.

(Second) Gulf oil - which replaces oil formerly imported and paid for with hard currency - as well as the payments mentioned above, are a significant source of foreign exchange which Portugal can use to pay for her colonial wars.

Finally, Gulf's close business relationship with the Portuguese government has created a natural vested interest in Portugal's colonial policy. For instance, Gulf officials explain they have developed a cordial relationship with Portugal over the years, which they do not wish to jeopardize. (Gulf statements tend to portray Portugal's colonial policy in a favorable light).

And, Gulf's discoveries and production of oil in Angola are an added incentive to Portugal's determination to hold onto her oil-rich colony at any cost.

The Southern Africa Task Force Proxy Statement concluded with a series of resolutions designed to couter the undermining influence of the Gulf Oil Corporation upon the Angolan people. The resolutions which were proposed were as follows:

1. The establishment of a committee to study the corporations' involvement in Portuguese Africa.
2. Disclosure of corporate charitable gifts.
3. Enlargement of the board of directors.
4. Amendment of the corporate charter to exclude investment in colonial-ruled areas.

Despite the moderate nature of these resolutions and the convincing arguments and lucid documentation which preceded them, they were soundly defeated at the annual shareholders meeting of the Gulf Oil Corporation.

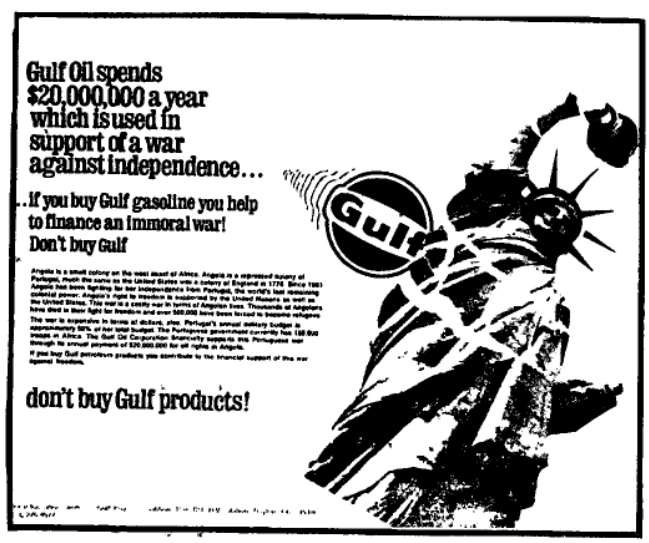
HARVARD UNIVERSITY: THE COURSE OF ACTION

It is clear that the policy of Gulf Oil Corporation as well as numerous other firms participating in the economic system of Portugal, directly subverts the struggle for African liberation. It is equally clear that, by maintaining financial ties to such firms, Harvard University (the largest university shareholder in Gulf) stands as a validation of Portuguese colonialism as well as an extension of an exploitative U.S. policy toward the African people. Furthermore by proceeding as an indirect participant in the economic dissection of Africa, Harvard is acting in contradiction to its professed attitude of liberal generosity toward displaced Africans on the North American continent.

This certainly is a case in which the investments of Harvard University support "activities whose primary impact is contrary to fundamental and widely shared ethical principles." Unless the Austin Report should be considered a public relations device for justifying present investment policy, it is imperative that Harvard pursue the only morally acceptable course of action - divestiture of all holdings in Gulf Oil Corporation.

No amount of appeal to the dictates of "sound" money management or the philosophical constraints imposed by Harvard's "restricted mission" can disguise the fact that Harvard Univeristy is an enthusiastic participant in the economic and political subjugation of African peoples.

African men, women, and children are being napalmed, machine gunned and bombed


Gulf Oil spends $20,000,000 a year which is used in support of a war against independence...
..If you buy Gulf gasoline you help to finance an immoral war! Don't buy Gulf
don't buy Gulf products!
Gulf

daily in Angola and Mozambique. They are the victims of the all out military effort being waged by the Portuguese government against the determined liberation movements within its colonies.

Portugal is using all of the most advanced Western military machinery in an attempt to regain those portions of these territories which have been liberated and to retain those areas which they now hold. At the same time the government has subjected the people left in the Portuguese held areas to atrocities and repressive tactics as inhuman as those practiced in the Republic of South Africa.

To engage in intellectual discourse over the proper method of relieving these people from colonialism would be to ignore this fact. The people of Angola and Mozambique have already made it clear that their freedom depends upon the complete withdrawal of the Portuguese government from their land. The lines are now firmly drawn. There is no middle ground: blood must flow in the Portuguese colonies.

The Portuguese government does not bear the sole responsibility for the suffering and death which plague the people of Angola and Mozambique. Although these policies are instituted by the Portuguese government, were it not for the economic and military support of the Western powers, that government would be totally incapable of implementing such policies and resisting the liberation armies within the colonies. How much blood must flow can only be determined by Harvard University and institutions like Harvard. That blood will be on the hands of all those who equivocate on the issue of freedom.

Upon being apprised of the significance of investment in Angola and Mozambique the logical conclusion is that Harvard should divest of any stock in companies operating in those territories. Therefore a first step might be taken now with an ultimate goal of total divestiture of stocks in companies supporting colonialism in Africa.

As a first step Harvard could divest its Gulf Oil stock. In as much as Gulf Oil is the largest American investor in Portuguese Africa and Harvard University is the largest university shareholder of Gulf stock, a divestiture accompanied by (1) a public statement of the reason for this divestiture, (2) an appeal for other stockholders to do the same, and (3) a statement of Harvard's intent to follow this with similar actions against other corporations would be a meaningful act in support of freedom and self-determination for people everywhere.

HARVARD AID (AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT) CONTRACTS AS OF DEC. 31, 1971

Worldwide

1. CSD - 1543 / 05/31/67 - 01/31/72 ($1, 585,169)
   research program directed towards comparative studies of resource allocation and development policy

2. CSD - 2478 / 06/30/69 - 06/29/72 ($106,105)
   research assistance to determine factors influencing family planning attitudes and practices

3. CSD - 2505 / 06/30/69 - 06/29/72 ($326,401)
   research in participating (economic, social and political) patterns in modernising societies

4. CSD - 3253 / 08/01/71 - 07/31/76 ($50,031)
   training participants assigned by AID in various fields

5. CSD - 3290 / 06/30/71 - 06/30/76 ($1, 458,062)
   training assistance in connection with population, economics, dynamics, and policy activities

6. CSD - 3322 / 07/01/71 - 12/31/72 ($181,880)
   survey available data on research activities in the educational finance area to provide an informational resource

. . . . . .

Local

7. Thailand - CSD - 3291 / 06/30/71 - 06/30/75 ($173,393)
   conduct a study to evaluate the nutritional impact of rice on infants and young children

8. Central America and Panama - CSD - 3153 / 06/30/71 - 12/31/72 ($192,699)
   assistance in improving agribusiness management educational training capabilities

. . . . . .

9. 09/01/69 - 08/31/72
   assistance to determine the nutritional benefit derived from lysine fortification of flour.